2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

YOUTH

BIRTH

843 A pregnant woman, in former times, did not make fun of a deformed person or stare at him, lest her baby have the same defect. She should give offerings to every such person in the neighborhood. She must not let a dog breathe on her or the baby would have fever with hot breath like a dog. She was herself dangerous and must not stand around to look at a war party lest she injure their strength. She must not visit any sick person, even her own mother, for she would cause the invalid's death.

Her husband must not go on a war party for he would have no strength. If he did by chance go, he must not kill or look on a dead enemy or the baby would die a violent death. He must not kill a rabbit, or if he happened to, he must not touch it. The penalty was croup for the baby. If he killed a rattlesnake, the penalty was convulsions.

844 When labor began, the mother retired to the segregation hut, where any female relative might go with her. The relative dug a pit in the floor of the hut and lined it with something soft to receive the baby. She suspended a rope from the roof of the hut and the mother knelt and pulled on it with arms raised until the baby dropped in the pit. If the family was travelling, she sought a secluded place and found an overhanging branch to pull on.

If labor was difficult, the helper might kneel behind her and push down over the abdomen. Sometimes another woman squatted in front of her and helped. At present, when birth sometimes takes place in the house instead of the segregation hut, the husband may be one of the helpers. "Some husbands will kneel behind a wife all day and hold her up" (26). Ordinarily, however, men fear everything connected with birth. If there was much delay, the cause was thought to be a hair from an Apache trophy or from a dead man which had become twisted around the foetus. The shaman was then sent for and, after smoking and singing to find the position of the hair, he sucked it out.

[845]

When the baby was born, the umbilical cord was snipped about four inches from the body with a sharp fingernail. The rest of the cord was thrown away or buried. There was no special significance attached to it. The afterbirth was buried by a man, "because a woman could not dig a deep enough hole". Men, however, were ex-

[p. 156]

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

847 If the baby died and the woman wanted another, she buried it near the surface. If she wanted no more, she buried it deep. Women [848] professed to know nothing about means of abortion saying that there was little need for them, since an unmarried mother suffered no stigma. Deformed babies and those born by "light women" who did not want the burden were dropped in an arroyo to die of [843] exposure. It was considered that a woman who had a husband and did not bear children would soon die herself of the unnatural condition.

845 Twins were considered to be born shamans. People regarded 756 both them and their parents with some awe, since whatever they said would come true. Thus, if they said a certain person would die, he would: if they called him ugly, swollen, lame, he would become so. Therefore everybody made offerings to twins (the word used is the same as that for offerings made at a shrine). Their parents did the same. Anyone who rebuked a twin suffered. One informant slapped the cheek of a twin who annoyed her while gambling and immediately her arm swelled. She went to the twin for relief, bringing a gift. The child wet her fingertips in her mouth and touched the arm which immediately healed.

This power of twins did not persist beyond childhood unless they had dreams and became shamans in the regular way. However, they usually did so and were much more likely to dream than the average person. If one twin died, the other died also.

CHILDHOOD

[862] Babies were nursed until they were two and three years old. 753 One informant said, "My babies died. It was because they came 853 too fast. When there was a new one coming, there was not milk for the old one" (26). The cause of most infant complaints was supposed to be the fact that the fontanelle did not close properly. A shaman or an old women who had dream power inserted a finger in the child's mouth and pushed on the palate. This was thought to push up the whole top of the head and close the fontanelle. Diarrhoea was [757] treated with the vapor of canyon ragweed. The leaves were wet and a hot cloth laid over them, then the infant was set on the cloth in the vapor. Children's fevers were thought to be due to the hot breath of a dog. They and other diseases were treated in the regular way by the shaman.

854 The child was carried on the cradleboard until it was able to walk. Mothers, on their long expeditions to fetch food and water, placed the cradleboard on top of the other contents of the carrying basket and while they worked, stood it against a tree. When the

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

You see, that song makes you laugh. It does not say everything. They /159x liked it, those River People. Their women came out to us with baskets of 533 food on their heads, tortillas, squash, and succotash. They fed us all for 541 our beautiful singing.

Then we collected the stakes that we bet on the race. Yes, I tell you, /159 we bet everything. Men took off their deerskin shirts, women piled up 541 their baskets. The River People made piles just like ours, shirt for shirt 525 and basket for basket. Out beyond the village the horses were tethered two and two.

Out came the runners in white loin cloths, with beautiful red designs on their backs so we should know them. Asking for Cactus Seed ran that day, and Running Wind and Short Wings. Short Wings was the best and our side won. My father won a blanket and a shawl.

Then all night we sang for the River People. We sent a man to find out their names and then our men made songs with those names in them. Beautiful, funny songs we sang to those people all night long and never a mistake in the names. Next day they paid us for our singing. Piles of wheat and corn they brought out to the dance place and then they called our names. But funny names they called, because this time was gay. When they asked us, we only told them funny names.

One of our singers was so fat we called him Seven-Yard-Shirt. So a River woman put a pile of wheat on the ground and she called out: "Seven-Yard-Shirt will get his pay here." He ran to get it and she threw squash stems at him, but he took it and ran away. Oh, we were loaded with wheat and cotton when we went riding home from the River Country. And dried beans and corn and extra horses that our young men led along!

After that, whenever we went to sing and to race and to dance, I went, too. Yes, that is how it was when I was a married woman.

VII

We were careful when the first baby was coming. Our men were not /159x going to war any more then, so I did not have to keep my husband home. 343 That had always worried my mother, for if a man kills an enemy at such a time, his child will die a violent death. But probably the man will not kill an enemy, he will be killed himself, he is so weak from his wife's weakness. But my husband did not kill any rabbits so that the baby should not have a choking sickness, and he kept away from rattlesnakes so it should not have convulsions. I was kind to the people in our village who looked sick or ugly, and I never laughed at them, so that my baby should have a good body.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

561 that define passage from one stage to another—the birth ceremony and the
856 girl's puberty rite—are private occasions which do not serve as announcements but merely as insurance of the well-being of the individual and his family. The terms the Papago use show their indifference to time concepts: the tiny infant is called "just born"; "child," "boy," or "girl" are used from infancy to adolescence, and "girl youth" or "boy youth" between puberty and marriage. In other words, between early infancy and marriage the Papago recognize only two stages: before and after pubescence. However, there is no more radical change in behavior patterns at pubescence than at any other time.

856 This distinction illustrates very well the usual child development pattern of
861 the Papago; training is informal and leisurely, attuned to the child's natural pace and accomplished with little conscious planning. The process is continuous, with few absolute landmarks; one phase blends into and overlaps those preceding and following it. Small wonder that the Papago use biological manifestations to mark the changes.

128 Since this study is written for readers who are accustomed to the white pattern of clear age groups and because such classification facilitates comparison with child development elsewhere, the 0–4, 5–10, and 11–18 age groups will be used here. We now turn to the first phase.

BEFORE THE BABY IS BORN

163 Papago children are more widely spaced than among some Indian tribes and white groups of similar economic status. There are a few families in which a child is born every year, but, judging from census records, in most families births occur from eighteen to thirty months apart.[1] Considering the death rate among Papago children, the average is near the lower end of this range. Most of the women seem to prefer not having a child every year because they feel that they cannot adequately care for so many children and will be likely to
[842] lose them. But, as noted in chapter iv, apparently most women take no contra-
846] ceptive measures, and the taboo on intercourse for a month after childbirth no longer prevails.

843 Life goes on much as usual for the expectant mother, and there appears to be little illness in connection with pregnancy. No special considerations are shown her, and the pregnant woman performs all her usual tasks, lest she have a difficult birth. On the other hand, she is not segregated or given extra duties.

Some taboos are still in force for prospective parents. They must stay away from animals that make children sick, and they must not touch animal blood. The father avoids killing rattlesnakes and rabbits, but most men no longer re-

1. This statement is qualified by the unconcern with chronology noted above.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

843

frain from butchering cattle or going hunting, as they did in the old days. The mother observes certain other taboos: she must not allow dogs to breathe upon her; she must not look directly at the sun; and, according to one informant, she must not stare at or mock a cripple, lest the child be similarly afflicted.[2] Today most parents apparently are not too concerned about these dangers, but if an illness of the child is attributed by the medicine man to some infraction of these rules, the parents readily accept the interpretation. One young father blamed his little son's illness on the fact that, during his wife's pregnancy, he had helped white men test the blood of horses.

842

The whole household looks forward with joy to the coming of another baby, for children increase the status of the parents, insure the future solidarity and prosperity of the household, and secure the elders against the privations of helpless old age. Although the male is dominant in this Indian group, not much preference is shown for boys; children of either sex are welcomed and treated with equal care. The Papago are aware, however, that one capable woman can manage a large household but that one man cannot handle a farm and herd. Hence the loss of a male child is felt more keenly, as is apparent in such phrases as "and it was a boy too!" There is no evidence that twins are considered undesirable or that one of them is put out of the way. Several sets of living twins are known to the writer, and people speak readily of the death of one of a pair of twins.[3] [345]

BIRTH

844

The great majority of Papago are born at home. In the western districts, the distance to the Reservation hospital at Sells (sixty-five to one hundred miles), bad roads, and general distrust of white medicine keep most women from going to the hospital. Even the inhabitants of the eastern districts, who are closer to the hospital, do not seem to relish the thought of their babies being delivered by a white man.[4]

In childbirth at home the mother is attended by her own mother if possible; otherwise by her husband's mother or any adult female of the household. The woman in labor kneels and grips a post or is supported by the attendants. If

2. Ruth Underhill, *The Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, p. 156.

3. There is some indication that, if one twin must die, it should preferably be the last-born. A medicine man carves wooden figurines about seven inches high which represent the twins. One figurine is buried with the dead child and the other is kept in the house with the living twin. Each is thus thought to be unaware that his twin is not with him; neither will become lonely for the other and attempt reunion. In the old days, according to Underhill (*ibid.*, p. 158), twins were considered to have magic power. [789]

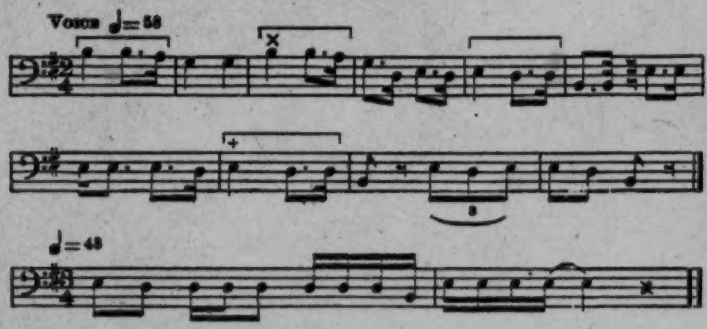
4. Between 1940 and 1943 three Hickiwan women who had learned English at school went to the hospital, but two did not go until after difficult deliveries at home. In the East, hospital deliveries are more frequent, but they are still only a small fraction of the total.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X 533

No. 70. Song of the Dawn (Catalogue No. 1027)

Recorded by RAFAEL MENDEZ



TRANSLATION

It has been a long time since the light began to show, my brother.
Just look, my brother.
Toward us the bows are brightening (referring to shafts of light bent above their heads like long bows).

Analysis.—This song was recorded by four singers in order to show the manner in which several men sang together. The opening tones were sung by Mendez alone, the other voices joining his at *X* and continuing together until the close of the four renditions. The slower tempo occurred at the close of each rendition. The song is harmonic in structure, which is unusual in the present series. The melody tones are those of the fourth five-toned scale. An ascending fourth occurs four times and is an interesting peculiarity of the song. Fifteen of the twenty-five progressions are whole tones. Mendez recorded the song alone, as well as with the other singers, the transcription being from his own rendition.

726 The Komotan affected warriors and unborn children. It was a requirement among the Papago that the father of an unborn child
●843 should provide his own food when on the warpath and avoid the
715 food of those who had killed Apache. He must also avoid giving offense in any manner to the spirits of dead Apache. If he failed in these requirements his child, when born, would be troubled by an Apache spirit. If he killed an Apache his wife must not drink much water nor eat any salt until after the birth of the child.

X 533 Two songs used in treating the Komotan sickness were recorded by Kiyatan, whose father was a medicine man of high standing.

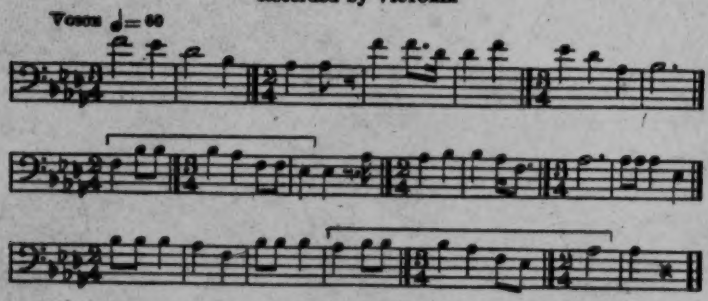
6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X533

No. 159. "I Sat Under Santa Rita Mountains"

(Catalogue No. 1061)

Recorded by VICTORIA



TRANSLATION

I was under Santa Rita Mountains.
I sat there and thought of things far away, in distant parts of the world.

Analysis.—A varied rhythm characterizes this song. The opening phrase contains only descending intervals and is three measures in length. The second phrase begins on the same high tone and is seven measures long. This is followed by a phrase of three measures, after which the rhythm is maintained without a pause to the end of the song. As in many dream songs, the final interval is an ascending fourth. The song has a compass of nine tones and is based on the fourth five-toned scale.

HUNTING SONGS

224 824 X533 The singing of a song and smoking of an herb to attract game is a Papago custom and was noted also in the study of Chippewa and Menominee songs. Three plant substances thus used by the Chippewa are the roots of the *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*, *Aster novæ angliæ* L., and *Aster puniceus* L., while the Papago use *pihol* flowers, mixed with tobacco. This is indicated in the words of a song recorded by Jose Manuel and not transcribed: "The morning is breaking. I have my bows and arrows ready. I run to a little hill. On top of it I sat down. I shot at him and wounded him. I used a little *pihol* flower which made it easy for me to catch the wounded deer."

X533 843 224 The song next following was sung to insure success on the hunt and also to cure the illness of a child whose father had disobeyed certain rules before its birth. The father of an unborn child was restricted in conduct when on the war path and also when hunting. If he saw the motions of the deer when it was dying, or cut certain parts of the deer when preparing the meat, his child, when about 2 years old, would make the sounds and motions of a dying deer.

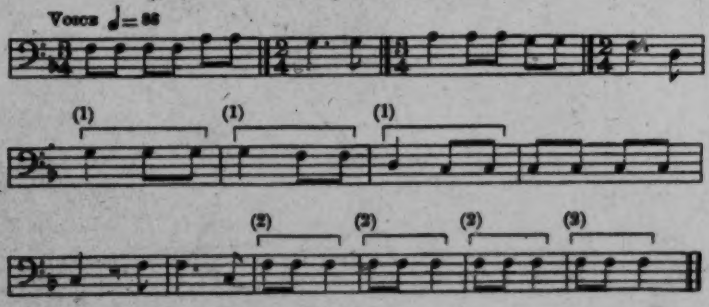
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

Observing this, the people asked the father if he had done either of these things, and if he admitted his fault they sent for a man who could sing the following song. It was not considered necessary to send for a medicine man, as the cause of the trouble and its cure were known. The man mixed dried *pĭhol* flowers with tobacco and smoked the mixture as he treated the child. 533X 843 224 [276]

No. 160. Song for Success in Hunting

(Catalogue No. 1013) 533X

Recorded by JOSE MANUEL



TRANSLATION

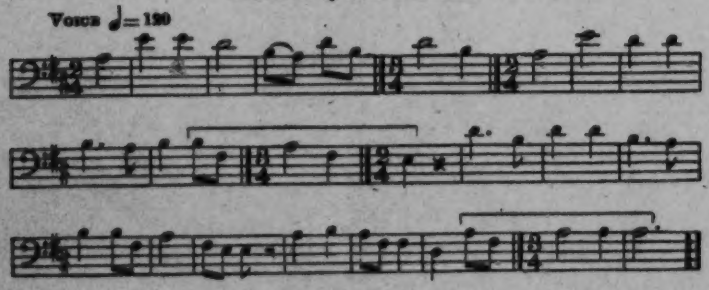
We sit here by our camp fire and start to sing our hunting song. I can clearly see the points of the deer's ears on top of the hill. We smoke the *pihol* flowers that make the night clear, so I can see the points of the deer's ears on the hill.

Analysis.—Two rhythmic units occur in this song, the second reversing the note values of the first. The song is based on the fourth five-toned scale and about one-third of the intervals are fourths.

No. 161. Song of an Unsuccessful Hunter

(Catalogue No. 1018)

Recorded by JOSE MANUEL



TRANSLATION

I am walking a great deal.
I am sorry I can not find any game.
I saw lots of tracks, especially on the east side of the mountain, but I found nothing.